1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

PREPARATIONS

When assistance was required from other tribes, a whale's tooth (*tauri-tambua*) would be sent. If the proposal were accepted, the whale's tooth was kept; if not, it was broken (*ndiri*). If the enemy heard of this he would offer the breaker of the tooth a bigger present to crush (*mbikai*) the first whale's teeth, and the two of them conspire against the instigator. When the war was over the people who had sent the whale's teeth held a festival (*solevu*) for the people who had fought for them.

The chief weapon was the club (*malungu*): the type that almost alone survives at the present day is that which imitates the shape of a musket, and is the 14th figured by Williams (18, opp. p. 77). Nos. 1 and 7 are *manda* or straight clubs; Nos. 2 and 4 are *totokia;* Nos. 8, 10, 12 are *yamatha;* No. 9 the Western type of *nggata,* and No. 11 the Lauan; No. 17 is also a *nggata*; No. 13 is a *kiakava.*

I have seen no spears in Lakemba, and could not discover any charms to make them lucky. The old word for bow (*ndakai*) has come to mean musket, and the old bow has to be distinguished by the epithet "pulling." It seems to have disappeared entirely. The warriors painted their faces black with soot.

FIGHTING

European witnesses confirm the impression given by the narratives that there were very few pitched battles. Primarily hostilities were carried on by treachery. A siege consisted mostly in sitting down before a place and uttering defiance; storming was rare. One Lauan thinks the Tongans were much braver. Fijians say warfare was active at night, when a man would go alone to surprise and kill his enemy. Such a man was called "ant's tooth" (*mbati kandi*).

Ambushes were called nets. The besieged having dug a tunnel and there put their women and children, allowed their enemy to come, then killed them. They would also make an offering (*i mandrali*) to the spirit concerning the white fence of the besiegers. The god would come up (*thambe*) and enter the priest and say, "Go, if you go tonight to attack the white fence I shall go with you, and you will be successful."

In the many stories of war I have which are not worth publishing these mighty men, heroes (*nggangga*) seem to be the pivot of the battle; if the hero is killed, his side collapses.

When a man slew an enemy he should give the battle cry of his clan (*i vakathavu*). The cry of Katumbalevu was *Mbukakanasinga,* Fire and Sun, or *Mbuka i singa.* The Sun for a fire, because, it is said, the god Tokairambe

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

[411] The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

712 Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
[578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies (*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been
266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory. The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were
[252] steamed whole in a large earth oven (*lovo ni mbakola*), and pigs and vegetable foods were also steamed for the feast. When all was ready the bodies were cut up and all the food was placed in baskets and set down outside the god house by the youngest men of the clan under the direction of the chief of crops. The priest in the god house was informed that the feast was ready. He presented it to the war god before the food was distributed. Special parts were served to the chief. Informants did not know, however, which parts these were. Each household took a share home, and the human flesh was consumed by the whole village—men, women, and children.

After an unsuccessful raid a death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held.

431 A village might appease the anger of a chief or of another village over
728 some transgression, such as the stealing of a woman, by the ceremonial

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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322 534 mourning tabu, or the call to service in the mission church—has its stylized gong beat (fig. 4).

The natives are sensitive to the quality of gong tones, and full, round tones are much admired. A good gong maker is known throughout the group, and his gongs are recognized by their shape and sound. Namuka became the center of the gong industry in Christian times through the gong maker, Metui of Mbutolu clan. The natives believe that Metui came from Kambara. Slit-gongs from Namuka are in demand all over Lau and on Viti Levu. Today most of the men of Undu, Kambara, know how to make gongs, but only one or two men are really skillful.

Dance gongs (*lali ni meke*), also called *vakamalolo* gongs (*lali ni vakamalolo*), are also made on Namuka. This gong consists of a small canoe-shaped block of greenheart about 1 meter long, with a small rectangular opening on the flat or upper side. The true drum or membranaphone is absent in Lau.

The natives say that formerly panpipes (*nduvu soro*) were made on Kambara. They consisted of five or six pieces of bamboo of equal diameter and various lengths, tied together with hibiscus twist.

Nose flutes (*nduvu tavu*) were also made. They consisted of a length of bamboo about 35 cm. long and 5 cm. in diameter with 4 holes cut in the bamboo. The flute was played through the nose.

KAVA CUP

322 415 272 The kava cup (*mbilo ni yanggona*) is made by men from the pointed end of a ripe coconut. The shell is scraped thin from the point outward with a shell or a piece of glass so that the point is emphasized and the striations are visible. It is polished inside and out and is rubbed with oil. Kava cups are occasionally made of greenheart.

WEAPONS

322 411 The most important weapons in Lau were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

Clubs were made by specialists, called *matai ni malungu*, mainly of *thau* (*Casuarina nodiflora*) wood, carved with designs which were accentuated with lime. Many different types of clubs were used. Those known to informants were: *totokia, kiekickavu, nggato, ndondonu, thulathula, malungu ni paki, linga ni marama,* and *manda*. There were also throwing clubs called *i kolo* and short clubs with thin handles and thick heads called *mbowai*, used for hand to hand conflict.

Spears were made by specialists, called *matai ni moto*. One-pointed spears were called *moto* and multi-pointed spears were called *saisai*. An effective

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type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake.

> The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *vai* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lava ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

Ongea men say, however, that the *tavaiongea* did not have a point of bone.

None of the old men questioned had seen a bow and arrow, but they had heard that the bow was formerly made of mangrove, *moli* (trees of the *Citrus* group of Rutaceae), or *mbau* and tied with sennit. The arrow was made of a single piece of *mbau* or greenheart.

Exact information regarding the sling could not be obtained. Slingstones were unworked. No slingstones of baked clay were found.

Baskets

Baskets (*kato*) are made of plaited coconut leaflets. The most common type is the *kato mbolambola* made and used mainly by men for carrying raw and cooked food. The type is common in western Polynesia. It is called *'ato fili tasi* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, pp. 189-194, figs. 97-99, pls. 12, *B* and 13, *A-D*). Other coconut-leaf baskets made by men are the *kato musu* and the *kato vuni* used as food containers.

WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Barkcloth

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CRAFT

The distribution of tapa making in Lau depends on the quality of the local paper mulberry and on the presence of tapa making specialists, women who belong to certain clans and hand down their art and tools to their daughters. Paper mulberry is found on every island, but the best quality for making tapa is grown only on Namuka and Mothe, the tapa making centers of southern Lau. However, of the six islands studied, tapa is made also on the island of Kambara.

Southern Lau and Lakemba are known for the type of tapa made into long sheets, called *ngatu*. This is an acceptable gift in any presentation ceremony and especially in demand as tribute to the high chief at Lakemba. It is highly prized throughout Fiji. Barkcloth in Lau is made into sheets according to two methods which have been called in this study the Fijian and